

Message Text

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 08654 01 OF 02 041156Z

12
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EB-07 TRSE-00 /067 W
----- 001780

P R 041035Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5368
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 8654

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PL
SUBJ: PERSONNEL CHANGES IN POLISH LEADERSHIP

REF: WARSAW 8644

1. SUMMARY. PREMIER PIOTR JAROSZEWICZ ANNOUNCED A NUMBER OF CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON DECEMBER 2. THREE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WERE TRANSFERRED OR DROPPED, AND TWO OF THEM, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER STEFAN OLSZOWSKI AND FORMER VICE PREMIER ALOJZY KARKOSZKA, WERE TRANSFERRED TO POSITIONS OF GREATER AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY AS PZPR SECRETARIES. THE APPOINTMENTS OF JAN SZYDLAK AND JOZEF KEPA AS VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ARE DEMOTIONS AND A DEFEAT FOR THE "HARDLINERS" IN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. OF THE SIX REMAINING APPOINTEES, FOUR ARE NEW TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE CHANGES REPRESENT A STRENGTHENING OF THE POSITION OF PZPR
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PAGE 02 WARSAW 08654 01 OF 02 041156Z

FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK AND THE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE POLISH

LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

2. THE NUMBER OF VICE PERMIERS HAS BEEN RAISED FROM EIGHT TO TEN, WITH THE TRANSFER OF ALOJZY KARKOSZKA TO THE PZPR SECRETARIAT AND THE APPOINTMENTS OF PZPR-CC SECRETARY JAN SZYDLAK, FORMER FIRST SECRETARY OF THE WARSAW PZPR COMMITTEE JOZEF KEPA, AND FORMER FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION, KAZIMIERZ SECOMSKI, AS VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

3. EMIL WOJTASZEK, EX-AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE AND MOST RECENTLY MINISTER OF ADMINISTRATION, LOCAL ECONOMY, AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, TAKES OVER AS FOREIGN MINISTER FROM STEFAN OLSZOWSKI.

4. WOJTASZEK, IN TURN, IS REPLACED BY MARIA MILCZAREK, THE FIRST WOMAN, AT LEAST IN RECENT HISTORY, TO HOLD A MINISTERIAL POST. SHE WAS CHAIRWOMAN OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN.

5. MACIEJ WIROWSKI, FORMERLY MINISTER OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY, REMAINS AS MINISTER IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION.

6. REPLACING WIROWSKI AS MINISTER FOR THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY IS HENRYK KONOPACKI, VICE MINISTER OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY SINCE 1966.

7. ADAM KOWALJK, A CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, TAKES OVER FROM JERZY GAWRYSIAK AS MINISTER FOR DOMESTIC TRADE AND SERVICES. GAWRYSIAK, WHO WAS APPOINTED MINISTER ONLY ON APRIL 5, 1976, IS BEING GIVEN AN UNSPECIFIED DIPLOMATIC ASSIGNMENT.

8. COMMENT: PERSONNEL CHANGES ANNOUNCED AT THE PZPR PLENUM AND THE SEJM SESSION ON DECEMBER 2 REAFFIRM MODERATION AS THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP. CLEARLY UNWILLING AT THIS TIME TO DROP PRIME MINISTER JAROSZEWICZ AND ADOPT BOLD NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES, GIEREK MOVED AGAINST THE "HARDLINERS" WITHIN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. WHILE GIEREK DID NOT ADOPT THE MOST EFFECTIVE COURSE -- GETTING RID OF JAROSZEWICZ -- THE CHANGES IN THE TOP PARTY AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS, AS WELL AS THE RESTRAINED ECONOMIC POLICY ANNOUNCED BY GIEREK, JAROSZEWICZ, AND OTHERS AT THE PLENUM
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PAGE 03 WARSAW 08654 01 OF 02 041156Z

AND DURING THE SEJM SESSION, MAY ENABLE GIEREK TO BUY THE NECESSARY TIME WITH THE POLISH PUBLIC UNTIL THE ECONOMIC INDICATORS TAKE AN UPWARD TURN, PERHAPS SOMETIME NEXT YEAR. THE MAIN DIFFICULTY FACING GIEREK AND HIS ASSOCIATES IS THAT THERE IS LITTLE MARGIN OF PUBLIC TOLERANCE LEFT, AND AN EXPLOSION OF ADVERSE POPULAR SENTIMENT REMAINS POSSIBLE.

9. THE APPOINTMENTS OF SZYDLAK AND KEPA AS VICE CHAIRMEN OF THE

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ARE DEMOTIONS. WHILE THEY RETAIN THEIR SEATS ON THE POLITBIURO, AND SZYDLAK MAY EVEN REMAIN NOMINALLY A SECRETARY FOR A WHILE, WE DO NOT EXPECT THIS TO LAST FOR LONG, IF THE EXAMPLE OF THE POLITICAL DEMISE OF FRANCISZEK SZLACHCIC IS ANY INDICATION. SECOMSKI'S ELEVATION APPEARS TO BE A "PETER PRINCIPLE" PROMOTION, AND HE SHOULD BE LUMPED WITH THE LOSERS.

10. OLSZOWSKI AND KARKOSZKA HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. OLSZOWSKI PROBABLY WILL TAKE OVER SZYDLAK'S ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITIES AS PZPR SECRETARY, AND HE IS LIKELY TO BECOME GIEREK'S RIGHT-HAND MAN IN POLITICO-ECONOMIC MATTERS. ONE QUESTION INTRIGUING INFORMED POLES IS WHETHER OLSZOWSKI WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROPAGANDA. THIS IS HIS AREA OF PREVIOUS EXPERTISE, AND MANY BELIEVE IT IS INEVITABLE THAT HE WILL HAVE TO BE ACTIVE IN THIS AREA. THEY REASON THAT GIEREK, IN HIS DECEMBER 1 SPEECH, INDICATED THAT THE MEDIA MUST BE USED TO PUBLICIZE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THEIR POSSIBLE SOLUTION. IF IT TURNS OUT THAT OLSZOWSKI INDEED TAKES ON A PROPAGANDA ROLE, IT MAY BRING HIM INTO CONFLICT WITH LUKASZEWICZ. OLSZOWSKI CAN ALSO BE EXPECTED TO RE-ESTABLISH PARTY PREEMINENCE IN ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING. OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE PZPR-CC HAS NOT BEEN FULFILLING ITS ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKING AND SUPERVISORY FUNCTIONS VIS-A-VIS THE GOVERNMENT. IN ANY CASE, OLSZOWSKI NOW RETURNS TO THE MAINSTREAM OF POLISH POLITICAL POWER FROM WHICH HE WAS REMOVED BY HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN 1971.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 WARSAW 08654 02 OF 02 041156Z

21

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

EB-07 TRSE-00 /067 W

----- 001824

P R 041035Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5369

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 8654

11. KARKOSZKA'S ELEVATION TO SECRETARY IS ANOTHER OF HIS STEADY STEPS UP THROUGH PARTY RANKS. AT ONE TIME HE WAS CONSIDERED A MEMBER OF THE SO-CALLED "WARSAW GROUP", WHICH INCLUDED KEPA. IN THIS ROLE, HE WAS KNOWN AS A POLITICAL DOGMATIST. AS PZPR FIRST SECRETARY IN GDANSK IN 1970, HE SUFFERED THE IGNOMINY OF SEEING HIS HEADQUARTERS PUT TO THE TORCH BY RIOTING WORKERS. HIS APPOINTMENT AS MINISTER OF CONSTRUCTION AND BUILDING MATERIALS IN 1971 DEMONSTRATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE WAS NOT HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GDANSK DISTURBANCES. IN 1974, HE WAS NAMED TO THE GOVERNMENT PRESIDUM AND GIVEN MAJOR NEW RESPONSIBILITIES SUPERVISING THE ORGANIZATION AND STREAMLINING INVESTMENT PROCEDURES IN ALL AREAS OF THE ECONOMY. IN 1975, HE WAS APPOINTED VICE PREMIER. KARKOSZKA BRINGS HIGH TECHNICAL EXPERTISE IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY TO HIS POSITION AS PZPR SECRETARY. HE IS ALSO KNOWN AS AN EXPERT ON WARSAW'S PROBLEMS (HE WAS PARTY SECOND SECRETARY IN WARSAW FOR TEN YEARS), AND SOME OF OUR SOURCES REGARD HIM AS THE IDEAL REPLACEMENT FOR KEPA AS PZPR FIRST SECRETARY FOR WARSAW. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 WARSAW 08654 02 OF 02 041156Z

12. WOJTASZEK'S APPOINTMENT TO THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS PORTFOLIO PROBABLY STRENGTHENS, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, THE INFLUENCE OF PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY RYSZARD FRELEK OVER FOREIGN AFFAIRS. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE DAYS PRECEDING THE TENURE OF FOREIGN MINISTER RAPACKI, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WILL NOT BE HEADED BY A POLITBIURO MEMBER. WOJTASZEK IS A COMER, WHO HAS WORKED IN THE FRENCH COAL FIELDS, AS DID GIEREK, AND HAS A BACKGROUND IN YOUTH AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HE IS A FORMER VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND POLISH AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE. HE IS REGARDED MORE AS A FOREIGN-AFFAIRS TECHNICIAN THAN AS A POLICY-MAKER.

12. WIROWSKI'S APPOINTMENT AS MINISTER ENTRUSTED WITH THE DUTIES OF FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION CONTINUES THE RECENT TREND OF UPGRADING THE ROLE OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION. WIROWSKI IS KNOWN AS AN EXPERIENCED, INDEPENDENT, AND ENERGETIC ADMINISTRATOR. HE IS CONSIDERABLY YOUNGER THAN KAZIMIERZ SECOMSKI, WHOM HE REPLACES, AND IS PRESUMABLY CHAIRMAN WRZASZCZYK'S PERSONAL CHOICE. END COMMENT.
DAVIES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CABINET, REPORTS, PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS, REORGANIZATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976WARSAW08654
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760449-0621
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761271/aaaacjen.tel
Line Count: 222
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 WARSAW 8644
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <09 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PERSONNEL CHANGES IN POLISH LEADERSHIP
TAGS: PINT, PL, (SZYDLAK, JAN), (KEPA, JOZEF)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006